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his face, combs his hair, and nowadays also dons his gayest laplap, and either walks past the girl's house or down a path where he is likely to meet her. He also plays an active part by resorting to love magic. He tries to put scrapings from a fingernail of his left hand or blood from the left side[13] of his penis into the lime gourd or cigarette of a woman whom he desires. If she ingests these magical substances, it is believed that she will have an uncontrollable sexual desire for the man who gave them to her.

In his sexual activities a boy also runs the risk of making a girl pregnant. If this should happen, her relatives try to force her to name the father of the child. If she names a particular youth as the father, he will be forced by her relatives either to marry her or to pay them an indemnity in shell money. Threats of sorcery or violence are employed to bring about the marriage or extract the payment. The reason given for the indemnity is that if a girl has had a child before marriage no one will pay a full bride-price for her. If a boy is willing to marry the girl anyway, he is not greatly inhibited by the fear of making her pregnant, although there is some social stigma attached to such an event. If the girl is unattractive, however, this factor assumes greater importance.

The danger from the relatives of a girl has certain consequences in controlling an adolescent boy's general behavior toward a girl as well as in determining his mode of sexual behavior. Breaches in etiquette with respect to females become much more serious than they were during childhood. We have seen that, if he stared at the genitals of his mother or sister as a child, he was scolded by the female at whom he stared; when he reaches the age of puberty such behavior is defined as specifically sexual. If he now stares at a girl, her relatives classify the act as a sexual advance and react to it accordingly. To be sure, they do not react as strongly as to an actual liaison, but they usually criticize him and may even insult and threaten him. Even staring at a girl's body in gen-

[13] The only explanation that I could get for the idea that the left side is important was that work is done with the right hand, and that this, for some reason, made the left side preferable in sexual matters.

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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back,[22] and never to leave the hamlet unless she wears her bag. When she meets a man on the path, she must step aside with her back to the path and must not speak to him until he has passed her.

A girl, like a boy, normally has her first experience in sexual intercourse during adolescence. She, too, must be secretive in this behavior, but for reasons quite different from those which force a boy to hide his philandering. The only danger which a girl faces from a non-relative in her sexual adventures is that of rape or of being aggressively attacked. In contrast to the boy, she stands in no danger of punishment from the relatives of her lover if she is discovered. Her own relatives, particularly her brothers, are the ones from whom she must hide her behavior. It is they who try to prevent her from philandering because, if she gets a reputation for being loose, and particularly if she becomes pregnant, her value as a potential wife is decreased and her brothers will be unable to get such a high bride-price when she marries. The Kwoma rationalization for the bride-price is, in fact, that it is a payment by the husband to the brothers of his wife for having kept her pure and unblemished up to the time of her marriage. Since a brother uses the bride-price paid for his sisters to buy his own wife or wives, it is not a matter of indifference to him if his sister loses her reputation. If a girl becomes pregnant, therefore, she may expect a severe scolding and perhaps a beating from her father or brothers.

The pressures exerted upon an adolescent girl lead her to solve her sexual problem in a somewhat different manner from the boy. As has already been shown, it is she who makes the advances rather than the boy, which she can do since she runs no risk of punishment from the boy's relatives. A second consequence of the differential sanctions is that, since the girl risks punishment from her own relatives, it is more danger-

[22] The woman's net bag is hung from the forehead down the back and when empty reaches almost to the knees. It thus functions as an article of clothing as well as a carrying device.

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, 301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrised with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is 584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal 583 591 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

611 595 794 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] [534] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either minieme or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and